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Cabo de Barros

OR

THE PLACE OF CAPE COD IN THE OLD CARTOLOGY

WITH NOTES ON THE NEIGHBORING COASTS.

Revised from the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register,
January, 1881.

Un cap qui est haute terre.
ALLEFONSCE.
A mighty headland.
GOSNOLD.

Bona Terra
BY B. F. DE COSTA.

C
NEW YORK:
THOMAS WHITTAKER.
1881.

US 13073.2.15

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Gifford

The Author.

Boston: Press of David Clapp & Son.





CABO DE BAXOS.

IF the bold foreland known as Cape Cod could frame articulate speech, what a story its storm-swept shores might tell. It has looked out through scudding mists upon the enterprise, the hopes and fears of many nations. Histories have been engulfed in its waves and buried in its sands. Cape Cod, however, is simply the wreck of an old and more extensive promontory. Even since the seventeenth century large portions of its coast have been devoured by the sea.

At some distant period the cape was connected with the neighboring isles, though a portion of the islands themselves have now disappeared. The great shallows tell of islands that once rose above the waves. In the year 1701 the "Sloop Mary" anchored under the lee of an island of which no vestige now remains.* Nevertheless, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the French and Spanish navigators came upon the coast, it presented substantially the same aspect as to-day. Then, as now, the marked feature of the coast was found in the great rifts which maintained a deafening roar, even at a distance being ominous in the mariner's ear. The floor of the sea was literally ploughed up by the roaring tide. The classic age, however, had passed away, and the sailors, instead of referring to Scylla and Charybdis, applied other but not less emphatic names, which, whatever may have been the language, always signified the same thing—**THE SHOALS**; while the cape was known as **THE CAPE OF THE SHOALS**. Verrazano employed the term "sirtis," though others used such words as "arrecifes," "faralones," "mallebarre," "baturier" and "Baxos."

In his letter to Francis I. Verrazano does not mention the syrtis, though the description of his voyage implies a passage around the cape. The shoals were probably described in the "little book" to which he refers as containing details, while the map of his brother shows them prominently, the land opposite being called "C. della Bussa," which seems to be the equivalent of "baturier," applied in following time. In the old cartology, therefore, Cape Cod, under various names, is constantly coming to notice. Two other points are also indicated, and with even more prominence. These are Sandy Hook and the Bay of Fundy. It is, indeed, by the careful study of these three features of the old maps that we are able to fix upon

* "Journal of the voyage of the Sloop Mary," &c. Albany, 1866, p. 27. "Pre-columbian Discovery," p. 29, and the REGISTER, xviii. 37.

the true place of Cape Cod, and to indicate how well it was known to the sailors and geographers of the sixteenth century.

These three points are not indicated upon every map, though one, and we might even say two, are seldom wanting. Reference, however, will be made almost exclusively to those bearing the threefold nomenclature. These are so numerous, that, taken in connection with written descriptions of the coast, they fix the identity of the places beyond question.*

The earliest map that has any bearing upon this subject is the anonymous map of 1527, which shows Sandy Hook as "c. d. arenas," while eastward is the word "golfo," which may indicate the Bay of Fundy. In 1529 we have the map of Ribero, which is similar to the map of 1527, though it has more coast names. Besides Sandy Hook and "golfo" is the indication of "c. de arrecifes," though it is placed eastward of what seems to have been intended for our Cape Cod. These two maps represent the voyage of Gomez, about which little is known. It was evidently a partial survey, which accounts for the failure of the maps. On the other hand, Verrazano examined the coast from the Carolinas to New Foundland, and his map is more definite. On this map, besides the "sirtis" and "bussa," indicating Cape Cod, we find the Bay of Fundy, while the Cape of Sandy Hook is also well defined, the name being "Lanuetto."† These three points were never lost sight of. The names were frequently changed, Sandy Hook often being called the Cape of St. Mary or St. John. To Verrazano belongs the credit of giving these points their first definition, while his delineation of Sandy Hook exercised a controlling influence over French map makers for nearly a hundred years.

Passing by such maps as that of Ramusio, 1534, and the Propaganda map of the same period,‡ let us proceed to the map of Alonzo Chaves, as described by Oviedo in 1537, who sets Ribero aside until after passing northward of Cape Breton, a region evidently not included by Chaves.§ Drawing upon the map of Chaves, Oviedo shows much knowledge of the three points under notice. The latitudes are incorrect, but this is the case with maps in general at that period. The Cape of the Arenas is put too far south. The latitude of the Hudson, however, is nearly right, being in 41° N., and the situation is described perfectly. Thence, Oviedo says, the coast stretches north-easterly to Cape "Arrecifes;" while at a point farther on is the Bay of Fundy, called "Bahia de la Ensenada." The distances, like the latitudes, are inaccurate, but the main features of the coast are well described. The Hudson (Rio S. Antonio) is depicted as running north and south, while eastward, beyond Arrecifes, there is an "archipelago."¶ This description alone would be sufficient to establish the identity of Cape Cod, called "Arrecifes," or the "Reef Cape." This latter word, it should be observed, is Arabic, and is related to the English "reef;" but, as the Castilian tongue improved, the word fell out of use, and the pure Spanish word "Baxos" generally took its place, though on some charts the old "arrecifes" was retained. The failure to understand this has led to much confusion, some supposing that the two names referred to separate capes.

Let us next glance rapidly through some of the maps of this period, tak-

* A fourth point might be included, as Cape Breton stands on the maps properly related to what represented the Bay of Fundy. This, however, will be taken for granted.

† Possibly this name was misspelled by the draughtsman.

‡ Found in "Verrazano the Explorer," p. 53, Barnes & Co., 1880.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Historia general y Natural de las Indias*, &c. Tomo I. (*segunda parte*) p. 146, ed. 1832, and *Hist. Magazine*, 1866, p. 372.

and we therefore repeat that the three points on the coast are invariably placed near their proper localities, and are proportionately distant from one another. As late as the seventeenth century, the distance between Alexandria and Marseilles was overstated by five hundred miles.

Next notice the map of Mercator, 1569, which, so far as it concerns the geography of the coast northward from Sandy Hook, was more or less a failure. This map shows the three features upon which we are dwelling, but a part of the work is in duplicate. Elsewhere the writer has shown how this happened, resulting in a double representation of the Island called by Verrazano "Luisa." This island Mercator calls "Claudia," and again "Briso,"* not knowing that "Briso" was a corruption of "Luisa," and that the two names referred to the same thing. "C. de Lexus" stands for "Baxos," the "Lexus" being a corruption of "Baxos." "C. de Lexus," however, is properly connected with Claudia (Luisa), the modern Block Island, off Newport. The position of "Lexus" in its relation to the Bay of Fundy (*C. de lus Condes*) and Sandy Hook (*C. de arenas*) shows that such a place as Cape Cod was well known. Besides, he puts his Cape de Lexus in the right latitude, that is near 41° N. His mistake consisted in putting Claudia and Lexus too far east, and in putting the Penobscot west of these points. The latitude of Claudia was fixed from the data in the letter of Verrazano, which, however did not give the longitude. Nevertheless, on the map of Mercator, as on the map of Verrazano, and as stated in the letter of Verrazano, Claudia was represented approachable from the west by water. When, therefore, Mercator's map is corrected, as respects Norumbega or the Penobscot, it is found to show a substantial resemblance to Verrazano. The Ortelius of 1570-1573, 1575 and 1579, copies the errors of Mercator too closely, but it is not necessary to dwell upon the work in detail, as it suffices to observe that the delineations of Ortelius maintain the identity of Baxos. Ortelius, like Mercator, puts Lexus and Claudia in the right latitude, and the Bay of Fundy (*B. de los Condes*) in the proper place, though "C. de Arenas" is too far south. He also duplicates Cape Cod.

Dr. Dee's unpublished map of 1580, now in the British Museum, does not follow Mercator in his outline of the New England coast, but copies his error in putting "arrecifes" (Cape Cod) east of the Norumbega, though showing Sandy Hook and the Bay of Fundy in their proper places.

Lok's map of 1582 shows Sandy Hook as "Carenas," but puts Claudia east of what was intended for Norumbega, thus reflecting the mistake of Mercator.

In 1583 Hakluyt's friend, Stephen Bellinger, of Rouen, sailed to Cape Breton, and thence coasted south-westerly six hundred miles, which would have taken him near Cape Cod. He "had trafique with the people in tennne or twelue places."† Hakluyt says, using the term in the sense of exploring, that he "discouered very diligently cc. leagues towards Norumbega," the latter term being used in a loose way. He doubtless saw Cape Cod.

Bellinger's enterprise seemed to stir up the men of St. John de Luz, "who sent laste yere to sollicite the Frenche Kinge and his Counsell to plante there."‡ This explains why Gosnold in 1602 found in New England "eight Indians in a Basque shallop." Brereton says, "It seemed by some words

* See the explanation of these errors in "Verrazano the Explorer," p. 55.

† See Hakluyt's "Westerne Planting," in the Maine Coll., ser. 2, vol. ii. pp. 26 and 84. Edited by Charles Deane, LL.D.

‡ Westerne Planting, 101.

and signs they made, that some Basques of St. John de Luz have fished or traded in this place.*

We find, however, that the old maps, with all their conventionalisms, were better than the later productions, inasmuch as they represented actual surveys, while, on the other hand, many modern maps stood for *theories*. It is assuring, therefore, at this stage of the discussion, to be able to refer to map XIII. of Kunstman's atlas, bearing the date of 1592, and showing, in their proper positions, "C. de las arenas," sometimes called Cape "Pedro," "C. de las Saxos," a misspelling of Baxos, and the well known Bay of "Condes." This map was the work of an Englishman, as the inscription reads, "Thomas Hood made this platte, 1592."

In 1593 the "*Speculum Orbis Terræ*" of de Tode, printed at Antwerp,† contained a small map, showing south of Cape Breton "C. de Lexus," tho misspelled "Baxos," evidently taken from Mercator. What appears to have been intended for Sandy Hook is marked "c. de s. Helena," but the map is distorted, and the Bay of Fundy is not mentioned.

In 1597 Wyttliet's work contains a map with coast lines according to Mercator, the map being repeated in the edition of 1603.‡ This map shows "C. Baixo" and "Cap Hondo" in their proper relations, but the name of Sandy Hook is omitted. Mercator, however, is corrected as respects Baxos, which is put south-west of the Penobscot, in its proper place; though that geographer is followed in his error which made the Gulf of Maine commence at Sandy Hook instead of Cape Cod.

Linschoten, in 1598, is found giving an accurate description of the main divisions of the coast under consideration, though he does not appear to have attracted notice. He makes the distance from Rio Fundo to Cape Baxos one hundred and sixty miles, and thence to the Hudson one hundred miles.§ Linschoten's work was published in Dutch and English, and was found in every navigator's hand. With Linschoten before him, Hudson, in 1609, could lay no claim to the discovery of the river which bears his name.

The next map that claims attention is that projected by Wright and engraved by Molyneux in 1600. This map is celebrated as being the "new map" referred to by Shakspeare in "*Twelfth Night*" (Act iii., s. 2).|| The map shows the influence of the English who had colonized Virginia, and indicates also that new ideas had been acquired respecting New England. This is very evident from a comparison of the map with a globe made by Molyneux eight years before.|| The globe, as respects New England, follows the school of Mercator and Ortelius, placing Claudia far east of the "Grand Bay," intended for Penobscot Bay. But in the map of 1600, Claudia is placed near 41° N., while the Penobscot, as the "R. Grand," lies east of Claudia. New England is reduced to an island by a narrow strait running

* Mass. Coll., 3 s. viii. 86. The visitors were incorrectly supposed by a recent writer to have been English. Maine Coll., vol. vii. p. 133.

† The only copy of this edition of de Tode known to the writer is in the Public Library of Geneva, Switzerland. It does not appear to have any place in our best bibliographies.

‡ The editions of 1597, 1598 and 1603, together with Maguin's French edition, 1611, put all the latitudes too high.

§ "From the point of *Baccalao* to the bay of the river, are 70. miles, from the bay of the River to the bay de los Ilos, 70. miles, from thence to Rio Fundo 70. miles, from thence to Cape Baxo 160. miles, and again to the river of Saint Anthony, 100. miles." "*Discours of Voyages*," Book ii. p. 217, ed. 1598.

|| That Shakspeare referred to this map appears to have been suggested first by the late Mr. Lenox, in 1859, when writing his introduction to Mr. Mulligan's "*de Insule*" of *Hy-laci-us*. Mr. Lenox possessed one of the three known copies of the map, lately given in *fac-simile* by the Hakluyt Society.

from the St. Lawrence and opening on the New England coast in latitude 40°, as on the map of Lok.* At the mouth of this strait, in Molyneux's map, "C. de Gamas," or Stag Cape, is laid down, "Claudia," or Block Island, being opposite; thus identifying the "Stag Cape" with Cape Cod, so called, perhaps, for the first time, though the name was every way appropriate on account of the abundance of deer. Far eastward, beyond the Bay of "Menan,"† is a large bay, evidently intended for the Bay of Fundy. Southward of Cape "Gamas" is the Hudson, "R. de S. Antonio," though Sandy Hook is poorly delineated. The improvement of the map of Molyneux over his globe of 1592 is very significant and instructive.

The "new map," as well as the work of Linschoten, must have been in the hands of Bartholomew Gosnold when he sailed on his voyage in 1602. This brings us to the reputed "Discoverer" of Cape Cod,‡ and recalls the fact that Mr. Bancroft, in speaking of Gosnold, says, "Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen."§ This, nevertheless, is untrue, as other Englishmen were on the coast of New England long before. Nor is it probable that Gosnold was the first Englishman who landed upon the Cape.|| Still, Gosnold is popularly credited as the "Discoverer." Upon what, then, is his claim based? The answer has already been given, as the Cape had been well known to geographers ever since the time of Verrazano and Gomez. Under the circumstances, the advancement of Gosnold in this connection is a little curious.

First of all, it should be noticed that Gosnold made no claim for himself. It is simply recorded that he gave the present name to the Cape. On the other hand no early writer made any claim on his behalf. It is true that, in 1609, when Hudson was on the coast, Juet, his pilot, wrote in the journal, "This is that headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the year 1602, and called Cape Cod."¶ Juet, however, uses this word, not in the modern sense, but simply to convey the idea of exploration or survey. This was the common use of the word in English. In the continental languages it was employed in the same way. The failure to appreciate this fact has led to blunders.** Verrazano says that he "discovered" (*discoperto*) countries that all the world knew were discovered in the modern sense, that is found, many years before. Thus also Barlow "discovered" Virginia in 1584, at a time when the region was already famous; while the Dutch in 1614 "discovered" portions of New England well depicted in the published French maps of 1609 and 1613. All such writers as Mourt (Morton), Smith, Bradford, Rosier and Josselyn, use the word "discover" in the sense of to explore or survey. Hubbard kept up the usage, and its

* Alfonsee was of the opinion that the Penobscot ran to the St. Lawrence. See, also, Lok's map in "Verrazano the Explorer," and in "Divers Voyages." Smith probably referred to this feature of Molyneux's map where he says that "New England is no island." "Advertisements," p. 20.

† Hakluyt and others knew of Manan. See Mass. Coll., s. 3, vol. viii, pp. 105-23. They probably had their information from English voyagers. At Whale's Cove in Grand Manan copper is found on the surface to-day.

‡ On Gosnold's voyage, which was an unauthorized venture, leading to the confiscation of his cargo by Sir Walter Raleigh, see the author's article in the *REAS-TER*, July, 1878.

§ The Centennial Edition of his History, i, p. 88. Also Freeman's "Cape Cod," i, 29.

|| See Introduction to Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pp. viii. and ix., ed. 1880. Prior to 1583, at least two English expeditions visited the coast between Nova Scotia and Cape Cod. This subject, however, is reserved for separate treatment. It is possible, also, that Martin Frobisher sighted Cape Cod in 1586, when sailing home from Virginia.

¶ The Hakluyt Society's *Henry Hudson* (Asher), p. 66.

** See "Verrazano the Explorer," p. 39.

general signification was always understood. Juet simply meant to say, that this was the headland which Gosnold examined. If he had said more, Juet would have proved that he was badly informed concerning the published maps and relations.

In this connection the claims of the Dutch have never been attended to sufficiently. Let us hear, therefore, the report of the Board of Accounts on New Netherlands, dated Dec. 15, 1644, taken from the archives at the Hague. It is said:

"New Netherland, situate in America between English Virginia and New England, extending from the South river, lying in $34\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, to Cape Malabar, in the latitude of $41\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, was first frequented by the inhabitants of this country in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements, only as a shelter in the winter. For which purpose they erected on the North and South Rivers there two little forts against the incursions of the Indians."*

Mr. Brodhead puts this statement in a foot note, and says that "it needs confirmation."† The confirmation, however, is at hand, though it is not found exactly where one would look for it. Nevertheless, Bradford says, in his letter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of June 15, 1627, that the Dutch on the Hudson "have used trading there this six or seven and twenty years," adding, they, "have begun to plant there of later time."‡ Bradford was certainly competent to speak on this subject. He lived in Holland in 1608, and thus had opportunities for becoming acquainted with Dutch enterprise, while his own interests would prevent him from making any over statement. It must be conceded, therefore, that the Dutch were thus early at the Hudson; and, as the way home lay along Cape Cod towards the banks of Newfoundland, they must have been familiar with the region. The Hudson was their central point for the trade in peltry, and thence they ranged the coast far and wide. They did not publish their operations, which would have defeated their plans, but they went back and forth quietly collecting their gains, being contented with the solid profits.

If any additional evidence were wanted, it could be found in connection with Allefonsee, who was on the coast near the year 1542. In his narrative it was described as "a cape which is high land, and has a great Island and three or four small ones." The reference here appears to be the Elizabeth group, possibly in connection with Nantucket. Eastward of the Cape was the River of Norumbega, and south-westerly was the Hudson, "a great river of fresh water," in front of which lay Sandy Hook, described as an "island of sand."§ Allefonsee knew well the "mighty headland" of Gosnold, where "Highland" Light now stands.

Regarding Gosnold himself, it is clear that he understood the situation when he came upon the coast. As the "Concord" approached the terminus of the Cape, Archer wrote:

"The fifteenth day we had again sight of land, which made ahead, being as we thought on an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared

* N. Y. Col. Doc., I, 149.

† History, I, 33.

‡ Mass. Coll., iii, 57. The Dutch, however, in 1721, hesitated to "impeach the rights of the English." Col. Mass., vol. I.

§ A full copy of the manuscript of Allefonsee, so far as it relates to America, was made for the writer under the supervision of the late M. D'Avezac; and as he hopes some day to publish the translation, the subject is here simply touched upon. The extracts already published were drawn from the copy thus obtained. This extract, however, is from the printed work.

westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shoal Hope.*

Again he says, on the twenty-first, while coasting along the outside of the Cape to the southward, that they saw what they supposed to be the "end" of the water taken for "a large sound," and the narrative says, that finding "there were but three fathoms a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shoal-Hope."†

But why did they apply the name of "Shoal Hope?" First, why did they use the word "Hope?" The answer is at hand. In the language of that period, the term "Hope" indeed had its modern signification, but to this was added another and a geographical meaning, being equivalent to an opening in the hills. The term, as used in the narrative, had a double signification. Gosnold was on the lookout for a passage through the land to the Indies. As late as 1660 the land separating the Atlantic from the Pacific was supposed to be only about two hundred and fifty miles wide. When Gosnold saw the open water, he thought he had what, in modern parlance, is sometimes called "a fair show." In the tracts appended to the narrative of Gosnold's voyage, among the reasons urged in favor of exploration was, that some voyage would yet "conduct us to the hopes that men do greedily thirst after," and to a "way to be made part overland and part by rivers and lakes into the South Sea unto Cathay, China and those passing rich countries lying in the east parts of the world."

Hakluyt, in setting forth "Inducements" for the voyage "in 40 and 42 degrees of latitude," appended to Brereton, mentions as his fifth, "a great possibility of further discoveries of other regions from the north part of the same land by sea," thus giving the trade to the Indies.

This was the beautiful dream of Gosnold and all the men of his time. Dermer, when at New York, in 1619, where Hudson vainly searched in 1609, fondly believed that he had reached the gateway to the east. It was every way fitting, therefore, to call what appeared to be a water gate through the land a "Hope." The term was perfectly intelligible to the geographers of the time. But why the "Shoal" Hope? This leads to the statement that Gosnold seemed to know his ground; as before any shoal water is mentioned he applies the name of "Shoal Hope," while after the shallow water is found he confirms the name. It would appear that he had the great shoal in mind, and, knowing that he was near it, employed the equivalent of the Baxos that he had seen on the maps of Wytfliet, and read about on the English page of Linschoten. Others had found nothing to boast of or to assure their courage in passing along this region, but it would seem almost as though Gosnold desired to signalize his visit to this place, by connecting it with something unique. At least we offer the suggestion.

That he knew his position is evident. He had come forth on this voyage with the letter of Verrazano in his hand,§ and was in search of the region where the Island of Luisa lay, an island which, as "Claudia," was depicted near the Cape of Gammas on the map of Molyneux. It was the "situation in fourtie degrees" that Carlisle desired to colonize in 1583.|| It was the exact region that Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed for on his fatal

* Mass. Coll., ser. 3, vol. viii. p. 74.

† Ibid. p. 75. Later a "Sound" was called "Gosnold's Hope."

‡ "Verrazano the Explorer," p. 57.

§ See the proof in the REGISTER, 1878. Also note the fact that Archer speaks of the destination of the voyage as "our purposed place." Mass. Coll., s. 3, vol. viii. p. 73.

|| Hakluyt, iii. 184.

voyage. This Hakluyt declares when he prints upon the margin of his page which refers to Claudia, "The country of Sir H. G. Voyage."* The old "sirtis" of Verrazano, therefore, crops out in connection with the hope of a route to the opulent Cathay through what is now the territory of Massachusetts.† He gave the name of Cape Cod to the cape, possibly, in a merry mood, as the cod took so readily to his bait. Bradford gives a tolerable *resumé* of the subject when he writes:

"A word or two by y^e way of this cape: it was thus first named by Capten Gosnold and his company, An^o: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James: but it retains y^e former name amongst sea-men. Also y^e point which first showed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, and Tucker's Terrour: but by y^e French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds and ye losses they have suffered there."‡

But though the English sailors relished the name given by Gosnold, it did not immediately pass into geography. In 1603, Wytfliet published another edition of his work, as already observed, containing the map of 1597, with the Cape indicated as "Baxos," and in its proper place, in opposition to Mercator.

In 1605 Champlain came to the Cape, and he says that he named it "Cape Blanc," since it contained sands and dunes which had a white appearance.§ On one of his maps, however, he calls it "C. Mallebare," the bad shoal, or Baxos.

In 1608, the *Fasciculus Geographicus*|| lays down "C. Baixo" where Cape Cod should be, while the "B. de cusenada" or Bay of Fundy stands in its proper position between "Baixo" and Cape "de Breton." Where the Hudson should appear there is an indication of habitations, and a river, with the word "Comakee." Sandy Hook is not found under any name; while the name of that Cape, "de las Arenas," is attached to the region of Cape Hatteras, with Virginian names standing northward of it. No new English map had appeared since that of 1600; though the next year Lescarbot published his *Nouvelle France*, with a map of the coast, giving Cape Cod feebly defined as "Malebarre."

In 1609, after landing on Cape Cod, and passing a night entangled in the ancient Baxos, Henry Hudson went southward and reached the Hudson. All his movements indicate that he knew of the river previously through Smith, and that his object was to explore with reference to a route to the Indies.¶

Magnin, in 1611, pays no attention to Gosnold, and, to illustrate his text,

* "Divers Voyages," p. 61. Hakluyt clearly knew that Mercator gave the wrong latitude as well as wrong name to the Island.

† The strait passing westward from Cape Gamas was, possibly, suggested by Long Island Sound, which had not been explored, and which might have been regarded as running to the St. Lawrence.

‡ Mass. Coll., s. 4, vol. iii, p. 77.

§ Œuvres, ii. 64.

|| "Fasciculus geographicus Complectens præcipuorum totius orbis Regionum tabulas circiter centum una cum earundem Enarrationibus," &c. Coloniam Reine Beye Johani Buxemacher, MDCVIII. fol. 81.

¶ The Dutch themselves declare that Hudson proposed two things to his crew, the first of which was to "proceed on the latitude of 40 degrees to the coast of America, being chiefly moved to this by letters and charts which one Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia." N. York Coll., s. 2, vol. ii, p. 39. Juet, the pilot, must have had the letter of Verrazano before him in Hakluyt's version, as was the case with Gosnold. Juet says, "The land is very pleasant and high," and Verrazano says "a very pleasant place among certain steep hills"; and while the former speaks of the harbor as "an open sea," and "a good harbour for all winds," the latter says it was a "pleasant lake," and "well fenced from the winde." Asher's Hudson, p. 78, and "Divers Voyages," p. 63.

uses a map like that of 1603. Mercator's double representation of the Island of Louisa, under the names of "Claudia" and "Briso," are still retained and put in latitude 44°, east of the Penobscot; but eastward of the Penobscot is "Cap Hondo," or Cape Sable, intended for the mouth of the Bay Hondo; while in a south-westerly direction, where it belongs, is "C. Baixo."*

In 1613 Champlain published his work, but paid no attention to Gosnold. He does not even mention him. The Dutch "Figurative map" of 1614, first shows Cape Cod fairly delineated, but the map remained unpublished until recent times. The English surveys are not indicated, though French names translated into Dutch are taken from Lescarbot and Champlain. This map represents genuine work by the Dutch, who examined the cape carefully, and called Plymouth Harbor "Crane Bay."† On this map Cape Cod is "Staten hoeck," and Sandy Hook is "Sandpunt." "C. Mallebarre" is attached to the shoals out at sea.

Cape Cod does not appear in any published map as Cape Cod until Sir William Alexander published his map in 1624. This map does not include the region of Sandy Hook, though the Bay of Fundy is called "Argal's Bay."‡ The maps of New England made by the English, however, did not prove very serviceable to some navigators. When off the Cape, in 1605, Waymouth's chronicler says, "We found our sea charts very false, putting land where none is."§ Gosnold, it would appear, did not improve the cartology. Though Smith directed Hudson to search in latitude 40° N., on this point he is very emphatic, saying:

"I have had six or seven plats of those Northern parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more."|| Smith, in his own map, published in 1616, calls the Cape "Cape James."

The Mercator of Hondius, in 1619, ignored the explorations of Gosnold and Champlain, but they put the ancient Baxos in its proper place west of the Penobscot, Hondius thus correcting his master, while "C. Hondo" is applied to the region of the Bay of Fundy. The latitudes on this map correspond with Mercator's of 1569, and dissent from those of Wytfliet and Maguin, which put Claudia near 41° W. Another map from Hondius, given by Purchas in 1625, corresponds with the representation of Baxos in 1619. In the same volume Purchas gives a map of New England, which was an improvement upon Alexander's, and with Cape Cod well delineated in the modern way, and with its present name.¶

Coming to the year 1633, we find that the Mercator of Hondius dismisses Baxos to the limbo of geographical antiquities. The word had done its

* "Histoire Universelle des Indes Occidentales," &c. A. Dovay: Chez François Fabri. L'an 1611, p. 95.

† This was probably the work of De Witt and Volckertsen, of "the Little Fox" and "the Crane," in 1613. Brodhead's "New York," p. 46 and 737. O'Callaghan's "New York," vol. I, and Doc. Hist. N. York, i. 13.

‡ Encouragements, p. 216.

§ Mass. Coll., s. 3, vol. viii, p. 131. It may be observed here, that De Bry, in 1619 and 1624, has maps without Cape Cod.

|| Smith, in his Description of New England, London, 1616, after speaking of the work of Gosnold, Waymouth and others, says, "I must entreat them to pardon me . . . if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or never well observed, or died with the Authors: so that this Coast is yet still but even as a Coast unknowne and undiscovered." Boston reprint, p. 22.

¶ Pilgrimes, iii. 857-53, and vol. iv, p. 1873. In the answers found in the "One Hundred Prize Questions" (Montreal, 1880), the name of the Bay of Fundy is incorrectly deduced from "Fond de la Baie Française." See "Verrazano the Explorer," p. 38.

work for the time, and Gosnold's term, "Cape Cod," superseded all other names. Nevertheless, "Cabo de Baxos" is now drawn out of its obscurity and sent forth into the world to perform a duty too long delayed, and to witness to the honorable and adventurous activity of men who braved the danger of Verrazano's "sirtis" half a century before Bartholomew Gosnold coasted our rugged shores.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that certain natural divisions of the Atlantic coast were observed at an early period, and that these divisions were maintained by the best historians and cartographers. The Bay of New York was always made very prominent on the maps, because it was well known. The Hudson was never lost sight of. That Antonio was the Hudson, is simply indisputable.* As Cape Cod, though not outlined on the maps, had its place, so the Rio de San Antonio always stood south of it, and north of Arenas, emptying into the Bay of Christovall. Oviedo, Gomara and others commence the Archipelago, or gulf of Maine, north of Baxos, laying down the points minutely; so that when the outline of Cape Cod was defined on the maps Arenas held its old place. The Figurative map gives one illustration of this. Sandy Hook was never merged in Cape Cod. There was nothing about the latter in ancient times to justify the application of "Arenas." Its sandy aspect is an accident of modern days.

For the confusion that has prevailed in connection with this subject, we are largely indebted to Mercator, who, following Ramusio and Gastaldi, adopted the wrong latitudes drawn by them from the Map of Verrazano, and thus duplicated Luisa (Block Island) as "Claudia" and "Briso," placing both too far east, though "Claudia" is in the right latitude, being laid down according to Verrazano's Letter. Again, in running his coast line from Cape Arenas, he turned northward, instead of proceeding eastward, cutting away a large portion of New England, and commencing the archipelago of Oviedo at Arenas. The weight of his name gave currency to this blunder and various other geographical abortions for more than half a century, thus well nigh stereotyping the confusion. Yet after all he laid down Cape de "Lexus," as stated, in its proper latitude, though, as the Sketch Map shows, east of Norumbega, which by his blunder was thrown three degrees too far south. Dr. Kohl, who knew very well that the Hudson was Antonio, and Arrecifes Cape Cod, evidently felt that Mercator had erred, but he could not say in what the error consisted, and stood looking upon the "Lexus" of Mercator puzzled and confused, and putting a note of interrogation after the word.† Dr. Kohl had never seen the Map of Verrazano, while Cabo de Baxos is not found in his book. Yet this word gives the key to the early Cartology of New England, for which key the author is indebted chiefly to Linschoten; though he regards the Map of Verrazano as the head and crown of the cartology of the North Atlantic coast.‡ Verrazano's "C. della Buson" was never lost sight of down to 1622, when the work of the modern Coast Survey was fairly inaugurated by Captain Jons of the ship "Discovery," who in that year undertook to "discover" or survey the ancient Baxos, styled "ye Shoulds of Cape-Cod."§

* Bancroft voices the opinion of cartographers, when he says that the Hudson was named Rio San Antonio in honor of the Saint. See "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson," p. 80.

† Maine Coll., 32. Vol. I. pp 49 and 390.

‡ The author, at the outset, questioned the existence of a Verrazano Map, and after inspecting the photographs felt that it was of little account. He was obliged, however, in the face of prejudice, to modify his views at every step, his progress being indicated by the revised version of his Verrazano discussions.

§ Bradford's History, p. 127.



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